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OPPOSITION *not* FACTION:

OR, THE

RECTITUDE

Of the Preſent

Parliamentary Oppoſition

TO THE

Preſent Expenſive Meaſures, Juſtified by Reaſon and Facts:

In ANSWER to a late BOOK, Intitled,

Faction Detected, &c.

IN

A LETTER from BATH to a MEMBER of PARLIAMENT.

Quò, quò, ſceleſti, ruitis? aut cur dexteris
Aptantur enſes conditi?
Parúmne campis atque Neptuno ſuper
Fuſum eſt Latini *ſanguinis?*
Hor. Epod. Od. vii.

LONDON:
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OPPOSITION NOT FACTION.

SIR, *Bath, September* 12, 1743.

YOU ſent me a Book inſtead of a Pamphlet, which you aptly call *the voluminous Attempt of a fallen Patriot to juſtify the Conduct of our new Leaders.* You might have added, with great Propriety, *and a Libel upon his late and preſent Majeſties, the Citizens of* London *and* Weſtminſter *in particular, the Nation in general, and all Mankind, except a few late Patriots riſen to Power and Title by appearing in Maſquerade for full ſeventeen Years.* I ſhall endeavour to ſhew from the very Work itſelf, that this joint ſubſtituted Title of

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yours and mine, would ſuit it much more aptly than that which the Author had prefixt to it: But firſt let me plead my Excuſe for incroaching upon him for Part of my *Motto*.

The Author has taken *twelve* of the *twenty* Lines of which the Ode is compoſed, and, in my Opinion, might as well have taken the Whole, it being, I am afraid, but too true, that *Britons* will fall into thoſe unhappy *Extremes*, which *Horace* would avert from the *Romans*, if our new *Conductors* continue much longer to work upon their preſent Plan of Politicks. What more naturally than *civil Diſcord* can be the Conſequence of ſuch Doctrine as is advanced by the Author throughout this whole Work? He would ſeem to pay Court to the People, yet is continually inſulting and abuſing them; he would pretend to be their Friend, yet every where proclaims the too great *Encreaſe* of their *Power* ſince the *Revolution*: He would inſinuate that he writes to unite us, but more aſſiduouſly labours the direct contrary. 'Tis quite a new Method of uniting a Nation to tax the Majority of the People with Diſaffection and Diſloyalty. Is calling a Man a *Jacobite*, becauſe he happens to diſſent with our new Miniſtry, and oppoſes them, becauſe he looks upon them as acting againſt the true Intereſt of his Country,

Country, the Way to reclaim ſuch a one, ſuppoſing him in the Wrong? Was not the Argument full as ſtrong againſt himſelf, and all his preſent miniſterial Aſſociates, during their Oppoſition to the late Miniſter?

To tell you ſincerely my Opinion of this Performance, I look upon it to have been calculated more for ſowing Diſſention and Diſunion, than conſolidating and uniting; and to ſpeak as freely of the Author, I look upon him to be, at this Hour, as much in *Maſquerade* as ever. I don't pretend to divine which of the two Principles he has adapted; but from this Work, if there were no other Proof, it is evident, that he muſt have a View to ſome *ſignal Change*; but whether it be to reduce us to a *Republick*, or to introduce a certain Prince beyond the *Alps*, I ſhan't, at this time, take upon me to determine. Let me however ſay this, that ſhould the preſent Meaſures be purſued, and this Author and his Colleagues be continued to direct our Councils, I won't anſwer, that we ſhan't ſwarm as much with *diſcontented* Subjects, as the *Roman* Empire did when the Poet wrote the Ode from which both of us borrow our Mottos. How ſuch *Diſcontented* will be, or will deſire to be, called, whether *Rumpers* or *Jacobites*, let teeming Mother *Time* unfold.

Upon

Upon caſting my Eye on the *four* laſt Lines of the Ode whence the Author has taken his Motto, I find the Cauſe to which *Horace* imputes the Wrath of the Gods againſt his Countrymen.

Sic eſt: acerba fata Romanos agunt,
Scelúſque fraternæ necis;
Ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi
Sacer nepotibus cruor.

For the Sake of my old Friend the *Egotiſt*, and ſome other Gentry in Office, equally learned, I will be at the Pains of adding, in *Engliſh*, the Meaning of theſe ſignificant Lines.

In the three Verſes next before theſe, *Horace* ſeems to think that the civil Broils and Calamities of the *Romans* were inflicted by the Gods, by Way of Puniſhment for ſome *national Crime* the People had been guilty of; and in theſe he unfolds himſelf more openly and declares the Guilt.——*The Murther*, ſays he, *committed in the ſacred Perſon of* Remus, *certainly draws this rigorous Puniſhment on the* Romans; *that impious* Fratricide, *for ever fatal to the Nation, provokes the Gods and attracts their juſt Vengeance*,——You will eaſily perceive that I attempt to give the Meaning only of the Poet without Confinement. Let the Criticks refine; 'tis ſufficient

ſufficient for my preſent Purpoſe to ſhew that *Horace* was of Opinion that the Murder of one of the Founders of *Rome* had not, even in his Days, been attoned for.—Now, whether our noble Author had found any Similitude in the Murder of *Remus*, and that of our *Royal Martyr*, I can't affirm poſitively, tho' from his ſtopping ſhort, juſt before this Deſcription of the *national Crime* of the *Romans*, one might be excuſed thinking, that either he looked on the latter to be no Crime, or that he was tender of ſaying any thing that ſhould induce the Publick to Compunction for the Guilt of their Anceſtors.

You ſeem to wonder why the Author had ſunk the *third* and *fourth* Line of the Ode on the Publick. He *ſunk* thoſe Lines, as you emphatically expreſs it, for the very ſame Reaſon that I inſert them. They were as directly in his Teeth, who is for plunging his Country into a ruinous War, as they are oppoſite to my Purpoſe, that endeavour to prevent the Deſtruction of my Country by detecting the Schemes of her ſecret Enemies.

Parumne campis atque Neptuno ſuper
Fuſum eſt Latini ſanguinis?

It would ill ſuit with the Scheme of the *new Leaders*, and of this Author in particular,

cular, to ask his Countrymen, in the Front of a Work calculated to reconcile them to the running *Fifty Millions* more in Debt, and the ſpilling a *third* Ocean of Blood; this being our *third* War with *France* ſince the *Revolution*, if, for our private and *national Sins*, we ſhall be forced into one: It would ill ſuit, I ſay, an Author with ſuch Views, to tell his Readers, after ſaying, *You wicked* ——, *whether do you precipitate yourſelves? Why do you unſheath the deſtructive Sword?* ——After theſe Words, it would be an Impropriety in him, who delights in Blood, to add; *And is there not already enough of* Roman *Blood ſpilt on Land and at Sea?*——The adopting Part of this Writer's Motto, ſeemed to require thus much in my own Juſtification. I ſhall now proceed.

I can perceive you in ſome Suſpence with Regard to the Author of this elaborate Piece. The Public, you ſay, beſtows the Honour of it on one, who, I think, no Mortal can miſtake, that has been ever ſo little converſant with the late Orators at St. *Stephen's Chappel*: But you wonder how one of the ſuppoſed noble Author's known Fire and Impetuoſity could have Patience or Phlegm enough to have ſpun out any Performance to this uncommon and enormous Length: 'Tis true, that a Declamation of One Hundred and Seventy full-charged

charged Pages was an unconſcionable Task for an impetuous Genius, ſuppoſed intenſly employed in the Improvement of an overgrown Eſtate: But you are to conſider your noble Scribe now in a quite different Light than when he was lately at the Head of an active Oppoſition to the late Miniſter.

He was then upon the Offenſive, which required Vigour and Fire; but is now upon the Defenſive only, which requires Caution, Addreſs and Colluſion more. He was then grappling for Power and Titles, which required an Exertion of all his Faculties; he is now intent only upon preſerving by Art and Cunning, what he had acquired by Force and Violence. Whilſt he was attacking a Miniſter, become obnoxious to the Nation, he was ſure of the Public, let him go what legal Lengths he would; but now that he is defending Men indifferently thought of; or, rather, defending himſelf, become more obnoxious, if poſſible, than either the late, or any other Miniſter we ever had; he has that very Public, who bore him up heretofore, for his Adverſary: Wherefore, inſtead of entering the Liſts as formerly, ſeconded by the Wiſhes of a whole People, he is now under a Neceſſity of having Recourſe to all his Subterfuge and Invention, in oder to ſmooth and cajole thoſe whom he had irri-

tated and injured ; and yet he is ſtill hurri-ed by his natural Temper, ſo far as to treat even thoſe whom he courts, often with Contempt, ſometimes with Arrogance : That this was his Plan appears evidently, not only from the Tendency of his whole Defence, but from his Manner of working it up. Never was any Work of the Kind ſo checquered with Tautoligies ; but you may eaſily perceive they are not natural or inadvertent; on the contrary, the Art and Deſign of throwing the ſame Subject into many different Lights at certain Diſtances of the Performance, is plain and conſpicuous. How often does he mention ; how variouſly does he paint the Principles of thoſe worthy Men in the preſent Oppoſition ? They are *Jacobites, Tories, Whigs, Republicans* ; they are every Thing, or any Thing, as it ſuits the Subject then in Hand. How frequent are his Condemnations of the late Miniſter's Conduct, yet how often does he attempt extenuating his Guilt ? When 'tis neceſſary for the Illuſtration of his own Character, the Conduct of his Predeceſſor is expoſed and condemned ; but when 'tis neceſſary to wear off the Edge of public Reſentment for the Lenity ſhewn to that Great Delinquent, then is he excuſed by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, or by ſome other miniſterial Palliative.

But

But however neceſſary it may have been for the new Miniſtry, and particularly for the noble Author who had been the hotteſt and forwardeſt of his Oppoſers, to have produced the late Miniſter as corrupt, haughty, over-bearing and ignorant; to have condemned his pacific Meaſures, as the Contraſt of his own, and to have repreſented him, in every odious Light, as unfit for the Poſt he filled; yet, I ſay, we cannot look upon it to be any Compliment to either his preſent or late royal Maſters, to preſent the Public, almoſt in every Page, with ſo ill-favoured a Portraiture of a Miniſter whom they had confided in and ſupported againſt the Opinion of the Generality of the Nation. How unfavourable to the *Employers* muſt thoſe Ideas be which are created by a frequent Repetition of the Miſconduct of the *Employed?* Muſt not the ſupporting an ignorant, wicked Miniſter, for upwards of twenty Years, be thought an Exertion of Prerogative, where it could be leaſt expected by a willing People? And will it not be thought, that ſome other *Intereſt*, except that of theſe Nations, which the noble Author ſays the late Miniſter had conſtantly ſacrificed, had been cheriſhed by that ſupported Servant, at the Expence of his Mother Country? Can this Author ſuppoſe, that the Conſideration of the many weak and flagitious Negociati-

ons, ſet on Foot by the late Miniſter, and expoſed in this Work, will increaſe the Veneration of the Subject? I don't know what this Author's Views may have been for bringing ſo multiplied a Charge againſt the late Miniſter; but I cannot avoid obſerving, that herein he ſeems *to labour* (to uſe his own Words †) *To deſtroy every Seed of Affection, or good Opinion in the People to the Royal Family:* Yet this is he, who, in the preceding Page, * has the Modeſty to aſſure his Readers, that, during the late Oppoſition, *it may be affirmed, that they never endeavoured to poiſon the Affections of the People to the Prince upon the Throne.* A bold, or rather, an unguarded Aſſertion for a Man that can't have forgot that his Readers may have Recourſe to moſt of the Writings and Speeches that had been publiſhed and made by himſelf, and his Fellow-labourers, in the long Courſe of an Oppoſition that laſted almoſt ſeventeen Years.

But this Writer, in his preſent Appeal to the Public, is too verboſe and prolix to be conſiſtent. He was too intent upon carrying his main Point; that is, the filing off, by Art and Addreſs, the Prejudice of the Public to himſelf and his Colleagues, to guard againſt the Inconveniencies that might reſult from his conſtant Repetition of

† Page 119. * Page 118.

of the late Minister's Misconduct. He could not, perhaps he would not, see that a Minister supported, and even *influencing* to this Hour, can never be arraigned in the severe Manner he is arraigned in this Work, in his ministerial Capacity, but that the Conduct of others, *Greater* than he, is thereby tacitly arraigned: And whether such a tacit Arraignment does not tend to the *poisoning the Affections of the People*, I leave to the Impartial.

I shall presently point out a few of that Multitude of Errors, Blunders and Crimes which he imputes to the late Minister, whilst he was trusted, caressed and supported; but, in the mean Time, be it observed, that he himself strips himself of all Excuse for his Conduct towards his Prince, in villifying the Administration of a chosen favourite Servant, whilst he was in Opposition to that Minister. Tho' he affirms, as above, *that it was never endeavoured to poison the Affections of the People*, he seems to acknowledge, that he was not altogether guiltless; but then, * *if any thing of this kind ever escaped* (*and very little of it did in that Opposition*) *it was the Secret, and never-to-be-traced Venum of* Jacobites, *who united in their Party, and abused the Liberty of the Press.*

These *Jacobites* are become a most necessary Generation to all Administrations.

I

* Page 118.

I wonder what Miniſters would do without them, and the *Pretender*: But, however our Author may cover himſelf by the *never-to-be-traced Venum* of that Gentry, whilſt he oppoſed, he can plead no ſuch lame Excuſe at preſent, having not only diſclaimed all Intercourſe with, but declared open Hoſtility with all the Faction of *Jacobites*, as he calls the preſent Oppoſition in a Lump. If in this Work the ſacred Sides of the Maſter he wounded thro' the Sides of a diſtinguiſhed, ſupported *Servant*; if, by this Means, the Affections of the People be poiſoned, this Author alone is anſwerable, he having now no *Jacobite* Coadjutor to ſaddle with *the Abuſe of the Liberty of the Preſs.*

I think, at ſome time or other, to publiſh a Collection of one Mr. *P*——'s Writings and Speeches from the Year 1725 to 1742; by which it will appear, whether he had ever dabbled in *ſowing Diſaffection in the Minds of the People*, or whether he was not furniſhed with a ſelf-ſufficient Fund without having Recourſe to the *never-to-be-traced* Stock of his *Jacobite* Aſſociates: For ſure that Gentleman will admit, that what a Man writes and ſpeaks is peculiarly his own. In the mean while let us take a curſory View of this Author's reſpectful Demeanor to his Sovereign in the Perſon of a Servant, who, for *two-and-twenty* Years ſuc-

ſucceſſively, had been favoured, truſted and ſupported beyond any Miniſter that ever went before him.

If this Author, too free and wanton in his Attacks upon two greater Characters than the late Miniſter's, had not intended that the oblique Shafts ſhould reach, he would have diſtinguiſhed the firſt ſeven Years of the late Reign at leaſt from the latter Part of it; it being notorious, that, until the Year 1721, the late Miniſter was not chargeable with the Miſconduct of our foreign Affairs at leaſt. I mention this only to lead you to an Obſervation, which ariſes naturally from the Peruſal of the Author's Performance, *viz.* That all our Meaſures, ſince the *Acceſſion* to the Diſmiſſion of the late Miniſter, were egregiouſly wrong. It was all Corruption at home, and Blunder abroad. You will agree with me that ſuch a general, ill-favoured Portraiture of the Conduct of our Cabinet raiſes no advantagious Ideas of the preſent Royal Family: And this was my Motive for endeavouring, in this Addreſs to you, to detect the laten Poiſon couched under the ſpecious Pretext, avowed by this Writer, of diſſipating *Faction*, an Epithet he beſtows on the preſent Oppoſition. This was an Attempt becoming a dutiful and affectionate Subject: I thought it incumbent upon me to unmask thoſe pretended Friends to our royal Guardians,

dians, who, under the Cob-web Veil of attacking their Miniſters, in Reality make ſo many Puſhes at their own ſacred Characters: I doubt not you will think that his own Expreſſions fully convict him of the Charge which I here bring againſt him. It would be impoſſible, without ſwelling this Tract, as he has done his, to tranſcribe all his oblique Satyr againſt his Sovereigns and Benefactors, tho' ſeemingly levelled at the late Miniſter; but here follows a few of his Strokes which may be an Incitement to examine the Whole with Attention.

The Silence of Party, and the univerſal Regard paid to the preſent Royal Family, after the Acceſſion, which one would think ſhould be Motives for an Increaſe of the Care and Tenderneſs of the Court and Miniſtry, * *tempted him, the late Miniſter, to act with too much Wantonneſs and Negligence in Power.*——A dutiful Compliment to the Maſter, who permitted, in his Name, ſuch *Wantonneſs and Negligence in Power.* "†The "Miniſter, void of all Apprehenſion of "Danger (from a dutiful, affectionate "People) gratified his ill Humour to, or "took no Pains to manage the ill Humours "of thoſe he happened to diſlike, neglect-"ed Popularity too much, and ſtudied on-"ly how to avoid a War, as the Means to

* Page 10. † Page 10, 11.

" to procure the Continuance and Eaſe of " his Adminiſtration.—All *Europe* quickly " ſaw this Foible; and the two Powers, " from whom we have Reaſon to fear the " moſt, the *French* and *Spaniards*, play'd " him off unmercifully.— Their Methods " were different, but both tending to the " ſame End.——The *French* flattered him " with an inſiduous Friendſhip, and the " Affectation of a pacifick Diſpoſition. The " *Spaniards* bullied him upon every Turn." Here appears a manifeſt Malignancy towards the Royal Maſter and Supporter of this miſled Servant. But let us hear what this infectious Writer ſays of the late Miniſter's Predeceſſors; that is, of the Meaſures of the late Reign, antecedent to the Year 1721. " His Predeceſſors had been puzzled " with theſe Differences (between the late " Emperor and *Spain*)—and in endeavou- " ring to appeaſe them, had, by the *Qua-* " *druple Alliance*, and ſeveral ſubſequent " Treaties and Proceedings, in a great " Degree diſguſted both theſe Powers."— Is it poſſible not to behold here a direct Tendency to aſperſe the Memory of his late Majeſty, who permitted the Predeceſſors of the late Miniſter to *diſguſt* the *Emperor*, the natural Ally of theſe Nations, and *Spain*, the moſt uſeful Kingdom in the whole World to us in reſpect to our Commerce? Can theſe poiſon'd Strokes be read

without raiſing the Indignation of every Well-wiſher to the preſent Auguſt Family on the Throne, who are here deſcribed as conſenting to a Diſſolution of the Friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between the Houſe of *Auſtria* and theſe Nations ſince the Revolution? Does not the Conduct of our Cabinet, to view it in the odious Light repreſented by this calumniating Author, ſhew that there was ſome fatal *foreign Intereſt* influencing our Meaſures ever ſince the Acceſſion. But to proceed,

" Inſtead of adhering firmly to the Em-
" peror, this Miniſter (the late) yielded
" to the Views of *Spain*, who inſulted us
" till ſhe carried one Point, and then in-
" ſulted us again, till ſhe had obtained an-
" other.——This Miniſter vainly flatter-
" ing himſelf with gaining that Power by
" conſtant Obligations.——By this Conduct
" he ſtill provoked the Emperor to a
" higher Degree; which *Spain* obſerving,
" took that Opportunity to accommodate
" her own Affairs with the Imperial
" Court.

" This ſudden Friendſhip between the
" Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* alarmed
" the Miniſter, who knew he had not the
" Friendſhip of the *one Court*, whatever
" he had done or ſuffered for it; and that
" he had juſtly incurred the Reſentment of
" *the other*."——What Man can ſay, that this

this Arrow was not immediately pointed at his late Majesty King *George* I.———*He knew he had not the Friendship of either the one Court or the other.*———This must necessarily be relative to the Prince only; for what Minister can pretend to the *Friendship* of powerful foreign Princes?——These Words, then, if there were no other Proof, might convince Mankind that this Author's principal Drift, in this elaborate Performance, was to depreciate the Virtues of the present Royal Family, and alienate the Affections of the Subject.———What follows evidently strengthens this Supposition.

" He therefore grew jealous of this U-
" nion, and dreaded some Effect from it,
" though he knew not what †.——He ap-
" prehended that the Peace of *Europe* was
" upon the Point of being disturbed again;
" and without considering the Nature of
" such Disturbance, that it could not pre-
" judice *this Country*; (Don't these Words
" convey Ideas of a distinct foreign Interest
" ever since the Accession?) that it was, on
" the contrary, the most desireable Event
" that could have happened, and that
" *France* could alone have Reason to con-
" sider this Union with a jealous Eye.——
" He suffered himself to be imposed upon
" by imaginary Fears insinuated by *France*,
" and

† Page 12.

" and immediately exerted himſelf to form " a Confederacy againſt the Emperor and " *Spain*, whoſe Union was effected by them- " ſelves, for no Reaſon but becauſe we had " refuſed to mediate for them."——This is a moſt amiable Picture of the late Reign. But pray obſerve, in the following Lines, the Author's Pains to inculcate a Belief that all our Meaſures were calculated for the Intereſt of *Hanover*.

" This Confederacy, which went by " Name of the *Hanover Treaty* (a Tranſac- " tion under the immediate Eye of his late " Majeſty in his *German* Dominions) was " concluded between *France*, *Pruſſia*, and " *Great Britain*, the 23d of *September* 1725, " about four Months after the Treaty be- " tween the Emperor and *Spain*, concluded " at *Vienna*."——I beg you will take ſpe- cial Notice of what comes after.—

" The late King of *Pruſſia* was then li- " ving; and it is obvious, by the Conduct " of the *Son*, what Views the Father might " have had to induce him, *&c.* to come in- " to this Meaſure."——

Theſe laſt Lines, if I miſtake not, point out uncontrovertibly the Author's Meaning for expoſing the Deſigns and Foibles of the late Reign. We cannot err in ſuppoſing that he intended to inſinuate, that all our Expences, all our Miſconduct, all our ſiniſter Meaſures, were with a View of aggran-

grandizing the Electorate. He plainly ſhews, that the late King of *Pruſſia* went into the *Hanover* Treaty to weaken the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the better to affect what the *Son* has accompliſhed when Opportunity offered. He acted upon the evident Maxims of all the Princes of the Empire with Regard to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Suppoſing then, as this Writer would have us ſuppoſe, that the Cabinets of *Hanover* and *Berlin* were guided by the ſame *Maxims* with regard to the Treaty of *Hanover*, will not the Publick thence make a very natural Tranſition, in concluding, what this Author ſeemingly diſreliſhes, *Page* 119, viz. *That the Intereſts of* Britain *had been ſteered, ever ſince the Acceſſion of this Family, by the Rudder of* Hanover——*That the Intereſt of* Great Britain *had been conſtantly and manifeſtly ſacrificed for many Years to that of the Electorate*——*That the Intereſts of* Hanover *had been the Touchſtone of all our Meaſures ſince the Acceſſion?*———If the Advocates for this Writer can ſhew that his Journal of the late Adminiſtration, and particularly his Account of the *Hanover* Treaty, do not tend to caſt an Odium on his late Majeſty, and conſequently on his Royal Progeny, I ſhall think his Loyalty and Affection to the Royal Family as ſteady and zealous as mine, whoſe Zeal would be a *Lepreuve*, if

I had never given any other Teſt of my Loyalty but my Anſwer to this Jeſuitical Writer.

In the ſubſequent Pages, 121, 122, the Author draws up, by Way of Impeachment againſt the King of *England*, eleven Articles, which, he ſays, have been exhibited by the audacious Writers of our Times. One would think that this Author ſuppoſes a ſpecious Title-page, and calling Names, to be a ſufficient Screen for all Invective and Scurrility againſt the King and Government. 'Tis manifeſt he was of this Opinion, or he never would hazard the Publication of his Chimerial Impeachment againſt his Leige Sovereign. After what he had ſaid of the Treaty of *Hanover*, as aforeſaid, and what I ſhall preſently tranſcribe from him on ſubſequent Meaſures, the Virulency of his Intentions appears but too evidently. Would any Man, that was not a *Jacobite* in Heart, publiſh the following, which is the firſt Article of his political Impeachment, after he had taken Pains, by all the different Means in his Power, to inſinuate to his Readers that the *Hanover* Treaty particularly, and all other ſubſequent Meaſures, were calculated for the Meridian of *Hanover*.

" 1*ſt*, That the King and his Father, E-
" lectors of *Hanover*, having no Regard
" nor Paternal Affection to their *Britiſh*
" Do-

" Dominions, had, falſly and treacherouſly, " to their People of *England*, betrayed " their Intereſts, and, by a corrupt Ma- " jority in Parliament, ſacrificed the " Wealth, Treaſure, Security, Liberty " and Reputation of this Country, by one " continued Series of uninterrupted Mea- " ſures, to the contemptible Intereſt of " their *Hanoverian* Dominions."———His other Articles are to the ſame Purpoſe, and have the ſame evil Tendency; for howe- ver he may impotently hope to cover him- ſelf by ſuppoſing that ſuch impudent Ar- ticles would be, or are drawn up by the Writers againſt the Meaſures of the new Miniſtry, his evil Intentions are but too conſpicuous. To what End, but that of alienating the Affections of the Subject, could he have exhibited ſuch ſeditious Ar- ticles, after he had employed near one hundred Pages in cenſuring and vilifying the Meaſures of our Cabinet ever ſince the Acceſſion? Tho' this oblique Method of miſrepreſenting the Sovereign has the Air of Novelty, yet let not the preſumptuous Inventor hope to poiſon the Minds of his Majeſty's Subjects without an Antidote.---- But let us unfold his infectious Packet.

After he had told us the late King of *Pruſſia*'s Views for becoming a Party to the *Hanover* Treaty, he goes on,——"And " it was ſtill much more obvious why

" *France*

" *France* ſhould have joined in a Project " which was of her own Invention, and " the only Meaſure that could have reco- " vered her out of the moſt dangerous Si- " tuation that ſhe was ever in."——Here, Sir, you ſee *France*, our Rival in Trade, and the natural Enemy of theſe Kingdoms, inventing a Project for his late Majeſty, and leading him into a Meaſure, by which *ſhe recovered out of the moſt dangerous Situation ſhe was ever in.* Except theſe Words imply the ſacrificing the Intereſts of theſe Nations to a foreign Intereſt, I confeſs myſelf unknowing in the moſt obvious Meaning of our Language.———But not contented to inſpire the moſt diſadvantageous Ideas of the Royal Family's Partiality to their native Soil, which indeed ſeems to be the ſole Purpoſe for which he quitted his natural ſlothful Indolence, to entertain the Publick with the longeſt Political Pamphlet that I remember to have ever ſeen; he bluntly and directly impeaches his late Majeſty's Honour and Veracity. This, Sir, you will obſerve, by his contradicting what not only all the Miniſtry, but his late Majeſty himſelf, in his Speech to Parliament in 1726, aſſerted to be Fact, *viz.* that in the firſt Treaty of *Vienna* there were ſecret Articles between the Emperor and *Spain*, tending to diſturb the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Royal Houſe of *Hanover* in Favour of the

Pre-

Pretender; yet, tho' this was the Language of the Throne at that Time, ſee how peremptorily this courtly Scribe gives the Throne the Lie. "* Theſe mighty "Armies (raiſed by the Emperor and "*Spain*) could not have waded through "the Ocean to have attacked *Great Bri-*"*tain:* The Emperor had not a ſingle "Ship to bring them hither, and the "Fleets of *Spain* had been deſtroyed in "the *Mediterranean*, in the Year 1720. "(he would have ſaid 1718.)——*Had it* "*therefore been as ſolemnly true, as it was* "*undoubtedly falſe, that thoſe Stipulations* "*had been made in the* Vienna *Treaty to af-*"*fect* Great Britain, *&c.*——*Great Bri-*"*tain* muſt have been out of its Senſes to "have been alarmed at them."——The Undutifulneſs and Indecency of theſe Expreſſions towards his late Majeſty, and the evil Tendency of them in regard to his whole royal Line, is too viſible to need farther Comment; but I cannot quit the Author on this Subject without taking Notice how he labours to imprint his fine-ſpun, but moſt dangerous Maxims on the Minds of his Countrymen.

You may perceive the Author endeavouring in almoſt every Page of his voluminous Work, to inſinuate, that the Intereſt of theſe Nations had not been con-

 ſulted

* Page 12.

ſulted nor cheriſhed ever ſince the Acceſſion; but for fear his Meaning might eſcape the Unlearn'd or Inattentive, he ventures, beyond all Example of Effrontery, to tell us this in Words ſo plain as admit of no Doubt whatever.——He is accounting for his Oppoſition during the late Adminiſtration, which he expreſly ſays, was in order * *to bring back the Councils of this Country to its true Intereſt.*——Need I have recourſe to the Treaty of *Seville*, the memorable *Convention*, what he ſays of all our blundering Meaſures abroad, and our Corruption at home, to prove, that he wrote purely to depreciate the preſent royal Family, after ſo evident a Proof as is above? Sure, Sir, to oppoſe for near twenty Years together, in order *to bring back the Councils of this Country to its true Intereſt*, is ſaying, in other Words, *that the Intereſts of theſe Nations had been conſtantly*, for ſo many Years at leaſt, *ſacrificed to ſome foreign Intereſt.*

I know but one Man in the Kingdom thus capable of inſulting his Prince, under the Mask of Zeal for his royal Houſe, and aſſuming an Infallibility in Politicks which none before him ever pretended to. ——He oppoſed *to bring back the Councils of this Country to its true Intereſt*; and if you recollect his Juſtification and Encomi-

ums

* Page 13.

ums of the new Miniſtry and their Meaſures, you muſt ſee, that he boldly affirms, that all our Meaſures are now as infallibly right, as they were, according to him, moſt infallibly wrong, ever ſince the Acceſſion to the Date of *the late new Commiſſion for the Treaſury*. If this Tract of his had not been printed off before the Renewal of that Commiſſion, 'tis a Doubt whether it had ever ſeen the Light.

You ſeem, my Friend, to have ſome ſlight Doubt as to the Author of this extended Piece. You fix upon two L—ds, one really ſo, the other nominal; but are not quite determined; which I greatly wonder at becauſe, I think it almoſt impoſſible for one that had attended Parliament for many Years, as you had done, to be one ſingle Moment in Suſpence, ſince you cannot avoid obſerving how familiar the Diction and Phraſe of this Performance is to you. 'Tis morally impoſſible, but you muſt recollect, that you had very often heard the ſame Language, tho' applied to quite another Purpoſe. But that you may be quite at Eaſe as to this Point, pray caſt your Eye on the Author's Self-ſufficiency, high Encomiums on himſelf, and bold Defiances; thoſe are ſo often repeated, and in Words you had ſo often heard during the Oppoſition to the late Miniſter, that you can't poſſibly

miſtake the late Orator to be the preſent Declaimer in Print.——Page 42. he ſays, " that a Right Honourable Gentleman, " ſince advanced into *another Houſe*, with " whom the Management of this Change " (of Miniſtry) was chiefly entruſted, to- " gether with ſome of thoſe who were " lately taken into Employment, anſwer'd " theſe Objections to their Conduct with " *great Temper.* "—This was at the *Fountain*, when amongſt many other *temperate Expreſſions*, for which you know he is conſpicuous, he ſaid; " That Government " was not yet reduced to ſuch a Point, as " to ſurrender at Diſcretion.——That Go- " vernment neither could, would, nor " ought to be taken by *Storm.*——Before this, Page 17. Tories *and* Jacobites *were not permitted to take the Government by Storm.*——Should you want to be further convinced, look into Page 135, where you will obſerve a Man ſenſible of having loſt the Voice and Opinion of the Publick, pouring forth his reſenting Heart, in fulſom Panegyrick on himſelf, and inſulting Defiances to the whole People.

" I ſhall make no Scruple to oppoſe my- " ſelf to their ſtrongeſt Prejudices without " any Regard whom I may oblige or diſ- " oblige; I neither fear the Reſentments " of the Friends of the former, nor court " the Favour of this preſent Adminiſtra-

" tion;

" tion; I am not to be deterred by the " Malice and Scandal of a Faction, nor " will I humour the Paſſions and Folly of " a People, *&c.* when they precipitate " themſelves, through Paſſion, Credulity, " or Ignorance, into Ruin and Deſtruc- " tion. "——Nay, Sir, wonder not that the *People* are here charged with precipitating themſelves into *Ruin* and *Deſtruction*, through *Paſſion*, *Credulity*, and *Ignorance*, ſince you might have ſeen them far more roughly handled much earlier. Page 58, the Author expatiating on the Unthankfulneſs of the *People*, for the extraordinary good *Place-Bill* obtained for them by the new Miniſtry, he proceeds ——" But the popular Spirit diſgraced it- " ſelf upon this Occaſion, and ſuffering it- " ſelf to be led away by Men who ſtudi- " ed nothing but their private Ends, gave " too juſt Handle for that Inſinuation, " which muſt be moſt fatal to all its " Views, and for a Charge upon the *Peo-* " *ple* of *England*, which has been too juſt- " ly laid againſt all others, that give " them one Thing it only leads them to " expect more, *and that nothing but a total* " *Tranſlation of all Power to their Scale* " *will put a Period to their Clamour.* "—

One would think this Fling at the good *People* of *England* was enough in all Conſcience, from one that had climbed to Power and T--t--e, ſolely by their former

Support

Support of him; but he roundly tells them, Page 12. *that till they are capable of Contentment*; that is, till they are contented on his Terms; "He must be mad, or "worse, who will yield one single Point, "which they never receive with Grati-"tude, but attribute always to themselves; "and consider, as extorted by Force, an "Evidence of their own Power, an Imbe-"cility in Government, and an Encourage-"ment to all Intemperance."—How different this Language from what it was before the Exaltation of a certain Gentleman!

It would be endless to recount all the Sarcasms of this exalted Scribe against the *Commons* of these Kingdoms; there is scarce a Page of his Work, wherein they are not villified and aspersed; never were a dutiful, harrass'd, over burthened People so falsely painted, and so atrociously treated: But, not contented to deal in Generals, he descends to Particulars. The Inhabitants of the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* are peculiarly his Aversion, because, I suppose, of their Influence with the rest of their Fellow-Subjects. "These, he "says, Page 96, were the first applied "to by the Faction (meaning the Oppo-"nents to his own Ministry) and assuming "the Title of a numerous, powerful and "worthy Set of Men, who had lately "made so great a Noise in the World,

"under

" under the Stile of the *Independant Inha-*
" *bitants of Weſtminſter*, were in Conjunc-
" tion with proper Inſtruments in the City
" of *London*, to take the Lead, and to ſet
" the Example to all the other Cities and
" Corporations of the Kingdom. Through
" this Canal the Ice was to be broke in
" general, and *Inſtructions* were drawn up,
" in which three or four were, out of Form,
" conſulted, and which about *Fourſcore*
" out of 16000 Electors in *Weſtminſter*, and
" *two or three hundred* out of 6000 Livery-
" men in *London*, ſanctified with their Ap-
" probation."——A reſpectful Narrative of a Tranſaction, which the whole Body of the incorporated City of *London* thought of ſuch Importance, as to appear in and unite upon it.

But not contented with this blended Charge againſt two, the moſt opulent, populous and loyal Cities in the Kingdom, he draws them ſeparately in the next Page, 97. " *The Inſtructions from* London were
" not only a direct and ſcurrilous Libel
" upon the *Adminiſtration* (remember al-
" ways the Change of the Author's Cir-
" cumſtances of Power and Situation before
" this Time) but the moſt ſeditious In-
" ſtrument that ever was penned, and very
" little ſhort of *Treaſon*, both againſt the
" King and Conſtitution."——Modeſt enough for a *Quandum* Patriot, and a particular Champion for the Metropolis, whilſt he

he was oppoſing to pave his Way to Power and the P— e. But he goes on.—" Thoſe " for *Weſtminſter* were leſs fruitful in per- " ſonal Abuſe, which they hinted only " (it muſt be conſidered, that this Siſter-City had a *thorough Courtier* for one of their Repreſentatives) " that they kept in Reſerve " till they ſaw whether their Ideas were " complied with (by whom I wonder) in " many other Reſpects, they went as far, " and in ſome, *viz.* with Reſpect to the " Conſtitution, ſtill farther than the City " of *London* itſelf. "——The late Miniſter was thought to be no Friend to the City of *London*; and tho' he was taxed with ſpeaking contumelioufly of her Inhabitants, yet I believe this Author is the firſt M'——r, who ventured ſo unguardedly and openly to exaſperate them againſt a Cabinet whereof he himſelf is ſuppoſed to be a principal Director ſince the Change of the Miniſtry.

But why ſhall we wonder at any Abſurdity this inconſiſtent Author commits, when we ſee him labouring to deſtroy all that glorious Fabric of Liberty, which he himſelf, more than any in the late Oppoſition, had helped to raiſe for the Security of the People. In thoſe Days, it was the undoubted Right of the Conſtituents to inſtruct their Members; then the Power of the Crown was become too formidable from the Increaſe of our Debts and Taxes ſince the Revolution: But now Things, or rather

ther the Man is changed, the People have no Right to inſtruct; and their Power is a Gyant compared with that of the Crown.—"Parliaments, he ſays, Page 97, have ne-"ver allowed the Right of *inſtructing to* "*lie in the People*—The Reaſon on which he founds this pretended Maxim is very curious—"Becauſe it is the conſtant and "allowed Principle of our Conſtitution, "that no Man, after he is choſen, is to "conſider himſelf as a Member for any "Place, but as a Repreſentative for the "whole People"——As if being a Repreſentative for the People in general was a Reaſon for a Man to ſhut his Ears to the Opinion and Advice of any ſelect Number of them. But *Inſtruction*, it ſeems, is a Privilege; *"No People could have a Right "to claim, erecting themſelves into a new "Order in the State, affecting a Superio-"rity to the whole Legiſlature, *inſolently* "taking upon them to dictate to all the "three Eſtates, &c. in Effect, to reſume "into their own Hands, that *vague and* "*looſe Authority*, which exiſts (*unleſs in* "*Theory*) in the People of no Country on "Earth"——*An impracticable and ideal Doctrine*, &c.

I confeſs not only my Ignorance, but to have been one of Millions of my well-meaning Fellow-Subjects, who thought we had ſome ſaving Remains of *Power* left to be

* Page 128, 129.

made Uſe of on Emergencies. I could not ſuppoſe with the noble *Proteus*, that our Anceſtors, who made ſuch glorious Struggles for Liberty, had * *diveſted themſelves of it, and had delegated it for ever from themſelves.*——Much leſs did I imagine, that they had a Right to entail what Degree of Servitude and Dependency they pleaſe on Poſterity.

But it ſeems this *veering Argus* has diſcovered, that the People ought not to be truſted with more Power than they have already, nor even with that, if he could contrive to throw it, without cauſing ſome ſignal Convulſion, into the regal Scale. (Page 29) " It appears, that tho' the Influence " of the Crown has ſeemed, for ſome Years, " to have encreaſed viſibly, the *popular* " *Intereſt* has been for many Years inviſibly " encreaſing *in a far greater Proportion.* " The Revenues of the Crown, however " magnified, have borne no Proportion " to the Encreaſe of Property in the Peo- " ple.——The Encreaſe of the *Peerage*" (which has produced the preſent Dread of the popular Power) " either in Property or " Number, notwithſtanding the Additions " that have been made ſince the Revolution, " have, in no Degree, kept Pace with it.— Soon after he goes on, " The Ballance " of *Power* undeniably preponderates (now) on

* Page 129.

" on the Side of the People, more than it " did at the Revolution; that is to ſay, " more than it ever did in any Period of " our Government; and, conſequently, " the Diſcontents of the People, which " are founded chiefly upon a contrary Sup- " poſition, *are moſt unreaſonable, unjuſt* " *and dangerous.*"——Now, Sir, what is your Opinion of our noble Declaimer? does he not moſt meritoriouſly deſerve the Epithets ſo liberally beſtowed upon him by the late Miniſter's Legions of the Quill? Does he not labour hard for the Smiles of a Court; and is it not ungrateful to have precluded him from the only * *Place*, for which his thirſty Heart yearned?

The *Diſcontents* of the People, he ſays above, *are moſt unreaſonable, unjuſt, and even dangerous*, becauſe they are ſuch Beetles as not to be able to ſee ſo great an Increaſe of their *Riches* as preponderates the Balance of Power on their Side. There is no Cure for wilful Blindneſs, nor is it much Matter; for if Men won't be convinced, what Pity do they deſerve? The People won't, I'm afraid can't upon any reaſonable Grounds, perceive any ſuch Increaſe of their Riches and Power as this Author, in *Power* at Court, and more than eaſy in his Fortune, would perſuade them to. I would not willingly differ with ſo *worthy*

* Suppoſed to allude to the late Poſt of firſt C——r of the T——y, lately filled, given to Mr. P——r.

and *honeſt* a Perſon as this noble and learned Author; but what can a Man do, who muſt neceſſarily deviate from his own Knowledge and Senſe of Things, and from the Senſe of the whole People, unleſs he doubts the Truth of this great Man's Poſitions, which may be reduced as follows.

The Power of the People is increaſed becauſe their Riches are increaſed; their Riches are increaſed becauſe their Numbers are increaſed; and becauſe they expend more now than at the *Revolution*. This you will perceive is begging the Queſtion all the Way, and, if true, would be nothing to the Purpoſe; but for fear I ſhould miſapprehend him, take his own Words to help you to his Meaning.

* "At the *Revolution* the Numbers of "the People were computed nearly at *Six* "*Millions*, and by the long Peace and ne"ceſſary Increaſe of Procreation, this "Number cannot be at preſent leſs than "*Seven*, or in that Proportion: The Ex"pence of the People *per* Head was about "*Seven* Pounds at the *Revolution*, at this "Time it is univerſally agreed that this "Expence amounts to *Ten*. Now, as the "Revenue of the People muſt infallibly "be at leaſt as much as the People ſpend, "it follows that the Revenue of the Peo"ple was at the Revolution *Forty-two Mil*"*lions*, and that it is *Seventy Millions* now: "The

* Page 129, 130.

" The People have therefore increaſed in " their annual Income *Twenty-eight Mil-* " *lions* ſince the Revolution; and as it is " a Maxim inconteſtible in Politicks, that " Power always follows Property, which " muſt ſooner or later operate in every " Country, it is manifeſt that the People " have acquired, in the Space of fifty " Years, more ſolid Weight in the Scale of " this Conſtitution than they could have " gained, or can gain by all the *Popular* " *Laws* that ever were made, or can be " made in their Favour to the End of " Time."——By this the glutted People may ſee what they have to truſt to,—— more *Popular Laws* they are not to expect, becauſe their *Quandum* Leader inſiſts they have full enough.

You will perceive this to be the identical Language of the *By-ſtander*, a Book particularly calculated to reconcile us to Taxes, a national Debt, Corruption, a ſtanding Army and Chains. The proſtitute Author of that Libel upon the good People of *England*, was known, and known to be carreſs'd and employed by the late Miniſter, but little was it thought he would be publickly abetted by one who ventured into the *Field* in Vindication of a *Tract* †, ſaid to be wrote by himſelf in Behalf of the Liberties of thoſe very People of *England*,

† A *Proper Reply* to a ſcurrilous Libel, intitled, *Sedition and Defamation diſplay'd*; Printed for *Franklin*, 1731.

land, whoſe Miſeries he then pitied as much as he ridicules them now.—But where ſhall we find Conſiſtency without a Foundation of Virtue*? *Peace, Plenty and Tranquillity, increaſe Riches, flouriſhing State of Trade,* &c. *are only ſo many Words in your Patron's* (W———pe) *Political Breviary, which his Creatures are obliged to repeat upon all Occaſions. It puts me in Mind of a profligate Prieſt ſinging a Requiem over a poor, miſerable, departing Sinner.*——How ſhall we compare the Author of the *Proper Reply,* &c. and many other Pamphlets and Papers in the ſame glorious Cauſe, and this of *Faction detected,* &c. The one commiſerated the Wants, Burdens and Dangers of the *Engliſh* Nation, the other triumphs in their Calamities, and, like a profligate Prieſt, or fallen Patriot, ſings a *Requiem* over their Miſeries and departing Liberties.

This Author, like the *By-ſtander,* has the oddeſt Whims of any I have ever read. To prove the People are become richer, and conſequently more powerful, he ſays, they ſpend more than they did fifty Years ago. Well they might, becauſe, at that Time, all the Neceſſaries of Life were full 70 *per Cent.* at leaſt cheaper than at preſent. In thoſe Days the People in general ſaved of their Gettings, and laid up, of which we have Proof in the late Wars with *France,*

* Page 22, of *Proper Reply,* &c.

France, which we have been able to ſupport by thoſe Savings from the *Reſtoration* to the *Revolution*. But the Poor-Rates all over the Kingdom, not to mention a thouſand other viſible Tokens of our Poverty, are not only a direct Refutation of this Author's Hypotheſis, but that we ſpend much more than we earn, and eat into the Principal.

If the *Freedom* of a Nation may be computed by their Numbers and Expences, what Nation on Earth can boaſt ſo much of it as the *French?* They were computed by Monſieur *Vauban* to be *twenty Millons* fifty Years ago, and may be ſuppoſed, by the neceſſary Increaſe of Procreation, and Territory, to be full *twenty-three Millions* at this Time. Now, by our clear-ſighted Author's Rule (ſuppoſing they ſpend not above 8 *l.* a Year each, their yearly Income comes to *one hundred eighty-four Millions*, and conſequently, as their Expences ſo far exceed the annual Revenue of the Crown, which is not computed at moſt above *ten Millions*) they muſt be the freeſt Nation on the neighbouring Continent. For any Thing we know, the Inhabitants of the cheriſhed *Electorate* may, by this Golden Rule of *Power* and *Expence*, be freer than *Britons*. I am ſure they are far leſs burdened, and much more tenderly treated and encouraged.

But

But to ſpeak more ſeriouſly on this important Subject of an Increaſe of *Riches* and *Power* in the People, muſt not a Man be an utter Stranger to this City in particular, and the Nation in general, that knows not the Decay of Trade, and ſees not the Face of Poverty upon the common People. The Wealth of a Nation, according to a late candid Writer, is finite, as well as that of Particulars; and 'tis really amazing how either could hold out under ſuch a Burden of Debts and Taxes as we have been oppreſſed with for half an Age: Theſe have already ruined our Trade and Manufactures, and if no more Care be taken than has been to reduce this moſt oppreſſive Weight of our Debts and Taxes, the Nation itſelf muſt become Bankrupt in the End. Already too many amongſt us feel their unhappy Influence. The Husbandman throws up his Farm, the Manufacturer is unemployed, the leſſer Tradeſman fails, and the great Adventurer ſtops his Hand, vainly wiſhing to reſume his Commerce in more favourable Times.

In the preſent general Decay of Trade, the landed Gentlemen ſuffer no leſs than others: They ſuffer in the Non-payment of their Rents, in their Lands being thrown upon their Hands, and in the Price of all they purchaſe either for the Neceſſity or Conveniency of Life. I can't help commiſerating the Gentry of this Nation. Before the

the Revolution, a Gentleman could live more hoſpitably, and make better Proviſion for his Children, with an Eſtate of 500 *l.* a Year, than he can do now with an Eſtate of 1500 *l.* and yet the Neighbourhood is apt to expect that he ſhould keep as plentiful and open Houſe as his Anceſtors, not conſidering what vaſt Deductions go out of it now, to which they were utter Strangers. Even Gentlemen themſelves are but too apt to fall into the ſame Miſtake, which has often proved fatal to them, and cauſed, at leaſt precipitated the Ruin of Abundance of ancient Families. Their Lands may be the ſame, and their Rental equal to that of their Fathers in King *Charles*'s Time, but as the Price of all Things that are not the immediate Product of their Lands, is double now to what it was in thoſe Days, they muſt either run out, or want half the Conveniencies of Life, at leaſt half that Abundance and Conveniency which their Anceſtors enjoyed.

Gentlemen ſhould conſider the Land Tax, Malt Tax, and Poor Rates, as ſo many real Mortgages on their Eſtates, for ſuch they really are, and, what is melancholy to reflect on, not redeemable at Pleaſure, but likely to be continued down a Rent-Charge upon their Poſterity. How can it otherwiſe be, when our Debts, our Taxes,

and the annual Charge of our Government are increasing constantly. Unless this noble Author, who pretends to Infalibility in his present Plan for reducing *France*, can find Ways and Means to maintain Fleets and Standing-Armies, and provide for Secret Service, and the other constant Clogs of the Cabinet, without the Help of Land and Malt Taxes, one need be no Prophet to prognosticate that these Taxes, which are a Rent-Charge on the Lands of *England*, will be transmitted down to succeeding Generations.———Under such melancholy Circumstances, notorious to all Mankind, who, that had any Regard to Truth, who, that had any Remains of Modesty or Shame, would have said that the People of *England* are now *richer* and more *powerful* than before the *Revolution*, or at any Time heretofore?

But must not this Author be an utter Stranger to our History, who affirms, that *the Power of the People is increased beyond what it ever was?* We shall find, on the contrary, that our Ancestors had in effect most of all the Civil and Military Power of the Kingdom in their own Hands.

In the *Saxon* Times, according to our best Historians, and particularly a late ingenious Author, no Laws were made but in a common Council of the Kingdom, and the principal Parts of the Administration were

were in the Hands of the People, tho' the King directed and ſuperviſed the Whole; for Juſtice was adminiſter'd by Lords of Manors to their Tenants, and to all Perſons whatever in the Hundred and County Courts, where the Suitors and Freeholders were Judges. In thoſe Days the Sheriff and the Coroner were the ordinary, and, perhaps, the only Conſervators or Juſtices of Peace in each County, and thoſe were choſen by the People. Hence it is obvious, that the *People*, who had the ſole Power of electing thoſe Officers, who thus diſtributed Juſtice and executed the Laws, had infinitely more Power than at preſent.

Nor was their Power leſs with Regard to the Military Affairs of the Nation; for tho' the King was at the Head of them, and could appoint a General in Chief to command the Forces of various Counties drawn together to oppoſe an Enemy, yet in each County the Forces there raiſed were commanded by the *Heteroches*, who were choſen by the Freeholders.

By this Means, was the far greateſt Part even of the military Power, as well as the civil, veſted in the People; who were the more ready and capable of exerting both upon any Occaſion, in vertue of a Means of Union, which then prevailed, and was eſtabliſhed by Law all over the Kingdom; and that was the Inſtitution and Uſage of

Frank-pledges. This was an Inſtitution which made all *ſtanding Armies* uſeleſs; it was a moſt excellent one to unite all the People collectively in a mutual Band of Confederacy: And it had that good Effect; for thereby they were engaged and reſolved to ſtand by one another in the Defence of their *Liberties*, which were by theſe Means ſo effectually ſecured from all Invaſion, that the Records of thoſe Times ſcarce affords us a ſingle Attempt of that Nature.

Had this glorious *Inſtitution* ſtill ſubſiſted, my worthy Friend, you and I, and all who read this inſolent Attempt to lull the People into a fatal Notion of their *Power*, when in Fact they have none, or very little; had we, I ſay, that Buckler of our happier Anceſtors, we need not dread the preſent too-increaſing Power of the Crown; nor would I have taken any Pains to refute, on this Head, an Author who labours the Subject, for the worſt of Purpoſes.

In Reality, all this Author's Work conſidered, it turns principally on two Points, *viz.* to perſuade the People, that they have infinitely more Power than the Crown, and then ever they had; and that they ſhould be thankful to their *new Leaders*, for encreaſing and perpetuating their Burden and Chains, under a Pretence of reducing the Power of *France*. All that the

Work

Work contains beſide are ſo many Epiſodes only to embelliſh it, and divert the unwary Reader from the main Drift of the Arch-Tempter. This, Sir, is my Reaſon for expatiating on this Part of the Subject; for if the People are made ſenſible of their true Condition, they will naturally endeavour to mend it, if it be worſe than it ſhould be, or than it was formerly.

Our Conſtitution ſuffer'd more remarkably, in reſpect to the Inſtitution of *Frankpledges*, by the Conqueſt, than in any other; for it was then intirely eſtabliſhed. The military Power underwent alſo ſome Alteration, being put into other Hands, tho' it ſtill remained in thoſe of the Subject. The main Difference was, that, whereas the Commanders of Forces were before eligible by the Counties, they ſucceeded afterwards to that Authority by Right of Inheritance; which was, after all, ſome Security, and infinitely better than to have them appointed and removed at the Will of a ſycophant Miniſter, or an unſteady, haughty, partial or ambitious Prince.

All the Lands in *England* were diſtributed amongſt the *Normans*, who held them to themſelves and their Heirs for ever, by *Knights Service*. But tho' this Tenure obliged them to follow the King in his Wars, they were far from thinking that it obliged them to ſubmit to be Slaves. They formed indeed the military Power of the King-

Kingdom; but this being annexed to their Eſtates, and both tranſmitted by hereditary Right to their Deſcendants, they were as tenacious of their Rights and Liberties, and as zealous in defending them, as the *Saxons* had ever been. The great Officers of the Crown, particularly thoſe of Conſtable and Marſhal, to whom the chief Command of Armies appertained of Right, were alſo Hereditary. So that, as well after as before the Conqueſt, the military Power was ſtill principally in the People.

In thoſe Days, the Crown ſeems to have had ſcarce any military Power but what depended on the Attachment of ſome of the leading Subjects to the Prince; for tho' the King could, and did, during our Wars with *France*, iſſue Commiſſions to the Sheriffs, Knights and others, to array and lead to a certain Rendezvous a certain Number of Archers, *&c.* yet thoſe Commiſſions could never be executed without the Conſent of the Barons in thoſe Parts. Theſe Barons retained ſo much of the military Power, that a few of them joining together, were able to decide the Fate of the Crown, as appears by the Wars between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*.

Thus Matters ſtood till *Henry* VII. having ſeen by his own Experience, how formidable the Power of the Lords was, reſolved to reduce it to encreaſe his own, and

not that of the People as he craftily insinuated. For tho' it would seem, that by allowing the Lords to alienate their Estates (a Privilege for which they used before to pay very dear) the Power of the Purchasers, that is, of the People would encrease, as that of the Lords diminished, yet in reality the Fact was otherwise. It was the Power of the Crown which he intended, and which in Fact increased by lessening that of the Lords. For whilst the Lands to which Power was annexed, remain'd in a few, it was formidable, because it was collected, whereas, by becoming abundantly diffusive, it was quite otherwise, with regard to the Crown.

That artful Prince went yet farther; for to lessen the Influence of the Lords, by a Policy not unlike what we have seen with regard to the Highlands of *Scotland*, he endeavoured to wean their Vassals from the Lords, providing for their Indemnification, by an Act of the 11th of his Reign, in case they adhered to him, or the King for the Time being; whereby they were secured from all Forfeiture for not following their Lords, as they were obliged by their Tenures. *Henry* VIII. finished what his Father began; and the Forfeiture of two or three Lords of the *Scotch Marches*, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, put an intire End to all the military Power of the Barons.

By

By the Sale of Church Lands in *Henry* VIII.'s Time, chiefly amongſt the Commoners, they extended their Power, particularly as to the giving Money in Parliament. But, as I hinted before, as the Diviſion of Power always renders it leſs, or leſs capable of being exerted; as that which in fifty Hands would have a mighty Influence, comes to have very little when ſplit into as many Thouſands, for want of Union among the Parties, through the Diverſity of Opinions, and the Difficulties of forming a Concert between ſuch Numbers, and from the Want of that Reputation, which the declaring of one of thoſe great Lords anciently gave to a Cauſe, and which encouraged others to join in it, the military Power veſted in the Barons, did not deſcend with their Lands to the Commons, but became a great and certain Acceſſion to the Royal Authority.

Thoſe Lords, indeed, who ſtill retained their Eſtates, and did not at once modernize themſelves, but kept up the antient Hoſpitality, and made their Houſes the *Academies*, where all the Youth of any Diſtinction in their Neighbourhood, received their Education, did, for a Time, keep up a conſiderable Intereſt in their different Countries. By this Means was formed in the Gentry an early Attachment to a great Family, and was one Reaſon of the

great

great Intereſt which the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, in 1641, appeared to have in the Northern Counties, as it gave the Gentlemen ſuch a Taſte for military Affairs, that it became the Mode to go Volunteers abroad, to perfect themſelves in the Art of War. Every Thing of this Nature being ſunk by the Civil Wars, and the Court of Wards, and all Tenures by Chivalry being aboliſhed, every different Spirit has ſince poſſeſſed the Gentry of this Nation. The Nobility contented to hold their Lands by a baſe Tenure, have altered the Condition of their Eſtates, ſetting them at a Rack-rent, as if nothing had been valuable but ready Money; and Tenants paying the full Value of their Farms, ſcarce think themſelves obliged to their Landlords. This appears evidently on Occaſion of our general Elections.

We have ſeen after what Manner the Crown has acquired from time to time the intire *military Power* of the Nation. My dear Friend, you and I, and all all our Fellow-Subjects, know the Extent of ſuch Power, and dread to feel the Weight of it. We know too, that we have no Power to prevent the Execution of any Schemes that a daring Miniſtry ſhall attempt, notwithſtanding what this Writer ecchoes of the mighty Increaſe of the Power of the People.——The People, unqueſtionably, have not a Shadow of the *military Power*; let

us see what Share they have of the *Civil*, and how they came to lose that which they had. The Disquisition may be somewhat tedious, but it is become too seasonable and necessary, from the poisoned Attempts of this, and other *courtly Authors*, to be courtailed or postponed.

We have taken Notice, that the *Civil Power* was almost wholly in the People during the Reigns of our Monarchs of the *Saxon* Race. It did not at first receive much Alteration by the Conquest: Lords of Manors continued to exercise their Jurisdiction over their Vassals, in all civil and criminal Matters as usual, capital Cases not excepted: The Hundred and County Courts, and the Sheriff's *Tourn*, still subsisted with their former Jurisdictions. The Lords of the Counties Palatine had as much Authority independant of the Crown in civil Matters, as they had in military. "Several of the Lords of the *Marches*, says "Mr. *Maddox*, enjoyed great Franchises "in their Seigneuries, and a Regality, "which made their Seigneuries look like "Palatinates. They had the first Cogni- "zance of all Causes and Plaints within "their Lordships; they had their *Chan-* "*cery*, Justicers, and other great Officers, "with an extensive Jurisdiction belonging "to the Chief Court of their Honour." 'Tis true, there lay an Appeal from these to the King's Court; but it could not be ad-

admitted there without being paid for, and the Fines were often heavy enough. There were, for this Reaſon, the fewer Appeals; and they were generally Gentlemen of Quality and Eſtates, who brought their Diſputes thither to be determined; the common People had Juſtice done them nearer home.

The Conqueror's Grants had been very extenſive, Hundreds of Manors, in many Caſes, being granted to one Perſon; but theſe vaſt Eſtates coming to be ſhared among ſeveral Coheirs, or Parcels thereof conveyed to others, Cauſes came in time ſo multiplied, and the King's Court had ſo much Buſineſs, that, at the general Deſire, a particular Court was aſſigned for *Common Pleas*, to ſit at *Weſtminſter*; the *King's Bench* was made ſedentary ſoon after; and all our Courts of Law were eſtabliſhed by *Edward* I. in the Manner and Form they are at preſent.

Theſe Courts, out of a Deſire to enlarge their Juriſdiction, not ſo much for the Good of the Subject, as to have the Power of gratifying ſome corrupt Miniſter, under ſeveral Pretences, and by many inſidious Means, had at laſt ingroſſed all Law Buſineſs to themſelves. Thus it continues, the Courts of the Conſtable and Marſhal being almoſt antiquated, that of the *Admiralty* greatly impared in its Juriſdiction, and thoſe of the Hundred and County

being grown in a Manner uſeleſs, thro' the great Plenty of Bullion brought into *Europe* ſince the Diſcovery of *America*, which has made 40*s.* (to Suits of which Value their Juriſdiction is generally confined) a mere Trifle, tho' of more Value formerly than 20*l.* is now: So that at preſent all the Juſtice in the Kingdom centers in the King's Courts; that is, in the Servants of the *Crown*, whoſe Scale of *Power*, according to this new *Ballance Maſter*, is kicked up into the Air, by the preponderating *popular Scale*.

I would not be underſtood to make any Objection to theſe Courts, much leſs to the worthy and learned Judges who preſide. With them Properties and Rights will be always ſafe; but who can anſwer for their Succeſſors, who being Servants to one who has the Power of beſtowing Honours and other Gratifications, may warp from ſtrict Duty to curry Favour. Should any thing like this happen, may it not be ſaid, that the *Power of the People* is not encreaſed by transferring the Diſtribution of Juſtice in general from themſelves to the Servants of the Crown? But to proceed:

The High Sheriff, the Coroners, and the Conſervators of the Peace, the ſame with our Juſtices of the Peace, continued for ſome Time after the Conqueſt to be elected by the Freeholders of each County.—All the old Authors agree, that theſe civil Officers were

were elected by the People; and Sir *Edward Coke*, who was a ſtrenuous Aſſertor, not unlike our Author, of the Rights of the People, before he became a Servant of the Crown, ſays, *Inſt.* 4. "The *Coroner* is "elegible by the Freeholders of the Coun- "ty, and ſo continues to this Day; as of "antient, the *Sheriff* and the *Conſervators* "*of the Peace* were, becauſe the People "had a great Intereſt and Safety in the due "Execution of their Offices; and ſo long "as they were eligible, they continued "notwithſtanding the Demiſe of the King, "as the *Coroner* doth this Day."

But theſe ſacred Rights of the People were taken from them under ſome frivolous Pretence or other, by the Arts of ſycophant, ſlaviſh Miniſters, who, agreable to the preſent Scheme of our *new Leaders*, firſt cried up the Power of the People, and down that of the Crown. The Election, indeed, of the *Coroner* is as yet in the People, becauſe it would not avail the Crown to ſtrip them of it.

Thus did all the *Civil Power* center at laſt in the Crown: And this Power hath been encreaſing ever ſince *Edward* III. when the finiſhing Stroke was given, by appointing Juſtices of Peace by ſpecial Commiſſion from the Crown. The dangerous Conſequences of inveſting ſuch Tools of a Miniſtry with ſo great a Power as they have, did not undoubtedly appear to our Anceſtors,

tors, or they would have made earlier Petitions to be reſtored to the Right they had of electing theſe Officers. And I have often wondered how it came they have not, ſince it is plain, from the very Inſtitutions of them by Commiſſion from the Crown, that they are veſted with a Power, by far too deſcretionary for a free Nation.

Ever ſince we have had any Laws for the Maintenance of the Poor, the Juſtices of Peace have had a Power of amending the Rates, and redreſſing any Complaints of the Inequality of ſuch Aſſeſſments in Pariſhes; but 'tis of late only that they have aſſumed a Power of altering the Poor-rates without any Complaint at all, of putting in and ſtriking out whom they pleaſe in an Election Year, in order to diſqualify ſome Perſons who had a Right to vote in *Boroughs*, and afford a Pretence to qualify others who had none; that ſo Members may be returned, who otherwiſe never would have been choſen; a Practice, which, if it becomes general (as no Iniquity does at once, tho' ſure to become ſo, if it carries its Point, and paſſes with Impunity) will put the Elections of all the Boroughs of *England*, where Scot and Lotmen have Votes, in the Power of the petty, venal Officers of the Crown, or rather of the Miniſter, and that, much ſooner than moſt Men think, to the utter Ruin of our Conſtitution.

Every

Every Man knows, and therefore ſhould ſhudder at the dangerous Power put into the Hands of theſe Creatures of Power, by the numberleſs penal Laws enacted ſince the *Revolution*, but particularly ſince the *Acceſſion*: But, above all others, the *Riot-Act*, and that which carries for its plauſible Title, *An Act for Indemnifying Perſons who have been guilty of Offences againſt the Laws made for ſecuring the Revenues of Cuſtom and Exciſe*, &c. which leave the whole People at the Mercy of Juſtices of Peace without Appeal, ſhould put every Man upon his Guard who values Life or Liberty. Our varying Author ſpends twelve intire Pages (43 to 56) in ſerving up to his Readers a pompous Deduction of Laws *obtained*, as he calls it, for the People, ſince the *Reſtoration*; then exults, tho' ſcarce one was obtained ſince he had been in Power, and concludes, as I have obſerved before, that the Power of the People is infinitely encreaſed; and inſinuates, that it would be dangerous to add to it by any more popular Laws.

One need be no Conjuror to fathom the Depth of the Author's Policy, in proclaiming the Power of the People. If by thus trumpetting the People's preſent mighty Power, he can perſuade ſome to be ſatisfied with their Condition, he may hope to prevent all Importunity to Parliament the next Seſſion, for ſome new Acts, and the

the Repeal of ſome in Force: And as there is nothing a C—— Miniſtry dread more than general Petitions, and general Murmur when ſlighted, they have thrown out this Bait to ſuch Gudgeons as will ſwallow it: Be that as it will, I ſhall go on to ſhew the Danger of the growing Power of the Crown.

I might here, and very pertinently, mention the various Laws that affect the Liberty of the Subject: They richly deſerve to be conſidered by all *Engliſhmen*. They have heard of them all, and feel moſt of them: But without ſuch a minute Enumeration, let any thinking Man reflect ſeriouſly on the prodigious Number of Penal Laws, made for the Security of the Government, and on other Accounts and Pretences, ſince the *Revolution*; and the Multitude of Taxes that have been laid ſince that Time, upon Windows and all exciſable and other Commodities; and an enormous Acceſſion of Power and Influence over all Ranks and Orders of Men, by putting the Laws of all theſe into their Hands, hath accrued to *Juſtices of Peace*, the Jack-calls of bad Miniſters; let him do this, and tho' he be never ſo undaunted, he will be apt to tremble with Apprehenſions of Danger, to which, in a future Reign, the Lives and Liberties of all the People of *England* may be expoſed.

Juſtices

Juſtices of Peace have, ever ſince the People for their Sins parted with their Rights of electing them, been the Creatures of the Crown, the Tools of the Miniſtry: They owe to the Deſignation of the firſt, all the exorbitant Power which is placed in their Hands, and which they are ready always to employ as directed by Miniſters; who, like our preſent Author, have a conſtant View to the making Court at the Expence of the People. Any new Truſt or Authority veſted in theſe Underlings, as they are put in and removed at Pleaſure, is a proportionable Acceſſion to the Power of the Crown, and conſequently a Diminution to that of the People.

The Power of the Crown we all know, and this Author as well as any Man, is great enough without this Acceſſion; it has been aggrandized by various other Methods. Mr. *Trenchard* mentions one ſo long ago as 1698, which is the more alarming, becauſe, as he apprehended, it may come in time to be made a Means of Corruption, even with Regard to Parliaments; "The Fountain Head from whence "the People expect all their Happineſs, "and the Redreſs of their Grievances. "Our Conſtitution, ſays he, ſeems to "have provided for keeping them free from "Corruption, by never ſuffering the King "to have a *mercenary Army*, to frighten "them into a Compliance, nor *Places* or

" *Revenues* great enough to bribe them " into it. The Places in the King's Gift " were but few, and moſt of them Patent " Places for Life, and the reſt great Offi- " ces of State, enjoyed by ſingle Perſons, " which ſeldom fell to the Share of the " Commons; ſuch as the Lords Chancel- " lor, Treaſurer, Privy-Seal, High Ad- " miral, *&c.* and when theſe Offices were " poſſeſſed by the Lords, the Commons " were ſevere Inquiſitors into their Ac- " tions.——In thoſe early, *happy* Days, " the Art was not found of ſplitting and " multiplying Places; inſtead of a Lord " Treaſurer to have *Five* Lords of the " *T*———*ry*; inſtead of a Lord Admiral " to have *Seven* Lords of the *A*——*y*; to " have *Seven* Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms; " *Nine* of the Exciſe; *Fourteen* of the *Na-* " *vy Office*; *Ten* of the *Stamp Office*; *Eight* " of the *Prize Office*; *Four* of the Tran- " ſports; *Four* for Hackney Coaches; " *Sixteen* of the Commiſſioners of Trade; " *Two* of the *Poſt Office*; *Four* for Wine " Licenſes; *Four* for the *Victualling Office*; " and a Multitude of other Offices which " are endleſs to enumerate.——I ſee no " Reaſon why they may not be made " twice as many, and ſo *ad infinitum*, un- " leſs the Number be aſcertained by Par- " liament; and what Danger this may be " to our Conſtitution, I think of with " Horror: For if, in Ages to come, they

" ſhould

" ſhould be all given to *Parliament Men*,
" what will become of our ſo much-boaſt-
" ed Liberty? (the Courtiers may ſing
" a *Requiem* over it as the profligate Prieſt
" before-mentioned did over the Dead.)
" What ſhall be done when the Criminal
" becomes the Judge, and the Malefactors
" are left to try themſelves? We may be
" ſure their common Danger will unite
" them, and they will ſtand by one ano-
" ther. I do not ſpeak this by gueſs; for
" I have read of a Country where there
" was a conſtant Series of Miſmanage-
" ment for many Years together, and yet
" nobody was puniſhed: (would not one
" be apt to think that that worthy Man
" was inſpired?) And even in our own
" Country, I believe ſome Men now alive
" can remember the Time, when, if the
" King had but *twenty* more Places in his
" Diſpoſal, or diſpoſed of thoſe he had to
" the beſt Advantage, the Liberty of
" *England* had been at an End."

Heavens! what an Eſcape was there! More miraculous than even that at *Dettingen*, and far more intereſting. *If the King had twenty more Places in his Diſpoſal, or diſpoſed of thoſe he had to the beſt Advantage, the Liberty of* England *had been at an End.* But Matters are much mended with the Miniſtry ſince this Delivery: In thoſe Days our Political Commanders were Bunglers to what they have been ſince. Let any

Man recollect the Improvements made by the late Miniſter, in the Art of turning Noſes *within Doors* into Wax, and he will own, that our modern Men of Buſineſs are qualified to carry into Execution the Scheme their Predeceſſors miſcarried in, the laſt Age.

After all, my dear Friend, 'tis a moſt melancholy Reflection for an *Engliſhman* to conſider how enormouſly the Power of the Crown is increaſed ſince that Period (1695) when Mr. *Trenchard* was ſo greatly and ſo juſtly alarmed. What a Number of new *Taxes* have been created ſince that Time? and how increaſed the Number of our Civil Army? What Nation can be ſafe when a cringing Miniſtry have ſuch vaſt Numbers of Slaves at their Beck? May not the *Treaſury*, which has the Diſpoſal of all the Offices of a vaſt Revenue, employ the greater to gain Partizans within Doors, and the leſſer to corrupt People without? Has nothing of this Kind happened during the late Adminiſtration? Are we ſure that nothing of this corrupt deſtructive Kind will happen in the preſent? The Shadow of a *Place-Bill* lately paſſed, which this Author plumes himſelf upon ſo much, were it to take Place immediately, would be inſufficient to guard againſt the Evil; but as it operates only *in futuro*, it anſwers no Purpoſe: For I think, a Man without any ſupernatural Lights may pronounce our Liberties not to be everlaſting, from the promiſing Genius of our *late Patriots*. They are apt Diſciples, and, my Life for't, can, and will manage a Civil and Military Army of *Officers* with as much Addreſs, and to as evil Purpoſe as their Predeceſſor.—You remember what a late noble Peer uſed to ſay of modern Improvements in the Art of managing Parliaments. "When "*Cromwell* had a Mind to get them into any

"Step

" Step they did not like, he inveſted the Houſe
" of Commons with a Body of Soldiers, and
" forced the Members to vote as he directed:
" But this was an open Violence of the Conſti-
" tution, and created a deal of ill Blood;
" whereas later Politicians had fallen into an
" eaſier and much ſurer Method of carrying
" their Points; for, inſtead of filling the Lobby
" with Officers and Soldiers, they opened the
" Doors of the Houſe, and let them into a
" Place where they could do more Miſchief by
" their Votes, than they were capable of doing
" by their Arms without."

Dreadful and dangerous as *Standing Armies* are to a free People, I don't think they are more ſo than *Standing Taxes*, which Dr. *Davenant* propheſied above forty Years ago, *would be the Engines wherewith bad Men* (ſuch Gentry as our new Men) *would undermine our Civil Rights.* Whilſt his preſent Majeſty lives we need not apprehend any ſuch *Underminers*; but he is mortal, and we have no Security that an ill Uſe won't be made hereafter of the vaſt Increaſe of the Power of the Crown from the vaſt Increaſe of our Debts and Taxes; therefore the only Method by which future Generations may be ſecured againſt Slavery, is that which is taken by the worthy Patriots in the preſent *Oppoſition.* They oppoſe all Schemes calculated for the Continuance of our *Debts* and *Taxes*, ſuch as the preſent *Don Quixot*'s Project of conquering *France* without any Ally but a *Princeſs*, who can ſcarce ſupport 40,000 Men out of her own Dominions, without our Money. They oppoſe the ſcreening a Man become obnoxious, for having uſed all his Inſtruments of Corruption to undermine our *Civil Rights.* They oppoſe all Extention of the Power of the Crown, already become Gigan-

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tick. They propoſe the Repeal of ſuch Laws as bear hard upon a free People and give Miniſters too great Latitude. They propoſe the enacting ſuch Laws as would for ever put it out of the Power of bad Men to undermine our *Civil Rights*. In ſhort, they oppoſe to ſecure our Liberties, and to make us happy.—Glorious Motives! ſuch as our preſent *Author* profeſſed to have in View whilſt he *oppoſed*; but, alas! how altered, how changed, when he can employ his Time to fill 175 Pages, in order to aſperſe the preſent *Oppoſition* with the odious Epithet of a *Jacobite Faction*, for doing what in Duty they are bound to do, what he himſelf had lately done, and what he would do again if he were from the Influence and Sun-ſhine of a Court.

But this is not the only Miſchief he had in View when he wrote his *Faction detected*, &c. he intended to lure the People into Inſecurity, by artfully inſpiring them with mighty Notions of their own Conſequence and Power. Could he perſuade them to be ſatisfied with their Condition, he might be ſure they would not ſupport the *Oppoſition*, and then might the Miniſtry proceed uncontroul'd, perhaps unſuſpected, at leaſt by the Majority of the People. This was his grand Scheme, and as dangerous a one as ever was hatched. Reaſon the People into a high Opinion of their own Power, and leſſen in their View that of the Crown, and there needs no other Soporifick. He who can do this ſerves the Cauſe of Oppreſſion more than he who adviſed, ſoon after the *Revolution*, a *Mortgage* upon our Duty and Obedience.

I need not tell thee that a large National Debt is this *Mortgage*, nor that the preſent *Meaſures* of our *new Leaders* more than even the late Miniſter's, tend to perpetuate this Liberty-deſtroy-

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ing *Mortage* for ever. The late Miniſter ſquandered the Nation's Treaſure, 'tis true, but his Profuſion centered chiefly at home, but our preſent *Improvers* contrive our Millions ſhall enrich *Foreigners* only; a ſafe Game, which, if they are permitted to play for ſome Time, may make us glad to become a Province of, inſtead of conquering *France*.

You are too warm a Friend to your Country to require any Apology for an Addreſs of this Kind to you; 'tis ſufficient that the Intent of it is honeſt, a Plea that will always weigh with you. You will perceive that I do not attempt anſwering your *quandum* Fellow Oppoſer, ſo much as I do to deſtroy the dangerous Doctrine he would propagate, *viz. That the Power of the People is increaſed, and that of the Crown decreaſed.*—Would to Heaven there were a Shadow of Truth in this inſidous Aſſertion: But, alas! the Fact is too evidently otherwiſe: And yet, conſpicuous as the Encreaſe of the *Power* of the *Crown* is, obvious as the Decreaſe of that of the People is, you ſee that this Author hopes the Nation are ſo blind as to ſee neither: 'Tis therefore the Buſineſs of every honeſt Man to ſet the People right in ſo eſſential a Matter: It is, in my Opinion, the *unum neceſſarium*, and, for that Reaſon, laboured it more than any other Point. Continue your *Oppoſition* to all extravagant, enſlaving, miniſterial Schemes, and reckon on the hearty Concurrence of all your Fellow Subjects; but particularly of,

Yours, &c.

F I N I S.